and valley according to the seasons. The agricultural year approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that planting begins in the spring and harvesting after mid-summer. Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their construction, a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need not detain us.[1] There are three such mills (Kurdish, ashi, from Arabic, hashira) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashi Shaykhi immediately above the town, Ashi Miri in Kawlishma, and Ashi Bayshukh at Jindian. The general practice is to pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" agricultural village for the area, because there is a great deal of variation in size, and some differences in the emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small village overlooking the road between Shaqlawa and Harir will provide some general idea. This consists of about thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along

[1] A detailed description is to be found in Leech, 1940, pp. 69-70.

because of the nature of this work, unemployment is 464
frequent for this group of workmen, both laborers and
porters, but they do not number more than forty or fifty
persons for the town as a whole.

An extensive group of persons, both men and women, 357
are employed in the town as servants, but it would be 464
difficult to arrive at any exact figure, inasmuch as this
group is always changing its numbers, almost from day to
day. The term "servant" itself seems to comprehend two
classifications, but they do not appear to have any pre-
cise social differentiation, and are only hazily dis-
tinguished in the popular mind. First, there are permanent [465]
servants who receive wages in addition to their keep and
who reside in the town throughout the year, either at the
houses of their employers or in dwellings of their own.
Most of these work in one way or another for the government,
a number in the government buildings, for example, the
mitmesrif's doorman in the serai or the "janitor" in the
primary school, others for the army as orderlies and kitchen
help, and still others as household servants of government
and military personnel. The mitmesrif's household has three
attached to it, a female cook, the widowed sister of a
merchant, and two men. The men do a little gardening,
perform errands and other menial tasks, and serve male
visitors in the diwankhana or the garden. To such persons 387
as these a little of the successful treatment of the pro- 564
fessional servants of the cities, such as Baghdad, has been

brought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the master are the two most related examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category and not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as [401] kaq, "uncle," or xalo, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Tumas or "Aunt" Rhody prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people [404] come from the villages, and their residence in Rowanduz is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their [393]

of cards. The game itself is surveying, as well as the particular form, poker of the type called "five-card stud" in America, one card dealt downward to the player and the other four up. The usual amount of an individual wager is 50 fils (about $0.14), and, in a party of eight players, a typical "pot" contains as much as two dinars ($5.60). Inasmuch as the salary of any official or officer is not large, it follows that an unskillful person can lose money he can ill afford.[1] The gambling debt is becoming a feature of life for the official class in Iraq. Most of the players, however, are familiar with each other, and it need not be supposed that the Arabs, however new it may be to them, are unskilled in the subtleties of card-games. The games are held either in the mafil or in the home of the policeman, and others attend not solely to play, but to drink and to hold conversation. In addition, the officers play a form of "bingo" for small stakes in their mess, and one or two of them often arrange a cock fight, either of a pair of roosters or of sisbaw, the mountain partridge, on which there is heavy betting.

The official class, the upper stratum in the second system, differs significantly from its parallel in the

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[1] The salary of a typical mutir, the administrative official of a nahiya, the smallest unit, is about twenty dinars ($56.00) per month and full dinars ($672.00) per year. This is about the same income as that of the merchant Faisal-Allah, mentioned above. The mutir, however, is given free quarters and other allowances, and receives an increase in pay every three years until he reaches the rank of a policeman. It can be seen how such an official feels that he cannot immediately afford marriage.

the two groups, and dancing in the courtyard or before the house for both sexes. The host pays the barber or *herish*, the *mulla*, and the musicians during the meal, and their return can be extremely large ("we must go a hundred *dinars*," or $280.00). The surgeon returns to examine the wounds and to redress them later in the day. In some cases there is a parade through the streets prior to the operation, the son of the host seated on a donkey surrounded by a crowd made up of the other boys, the barber, and others. As can be seen, this event makes a tremendous impression on the juvenile mind, and is characteristically painful. Boys who have undergone circumcision wear a *kishkesh* or censer, and may be seen holding it out in front of them to avoid touching the sensitive wound. Clitoredectomy is never practiced, and is spoken of by the townspeople as a "Hindu" or "Persian" abomination.

Children enjoy a relatively untroubled childhood, gradually called away from it in adolescence by the demands of further education, their fathers' trades, or marriage. Boys and girls of the town may mingle freely until the call separates them at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and the formation of youthful associations, sons and daughters of all classes of society meeting together, has already been noticed. The boys and girls, however, separate into two groups even before the segregation of adolescence takes place. One of the most popular sports of the boys is a mock war in which commanders are selected by the

in the village, when the cows find their own way to their respective stalls for the evening milking. Sheep and goats are out on the mountains with the village shepherd from the middle of June. I was told in Bulgan that his wages were 20 lbs – 44 per sheep for six months. Cattle are brought in the vicinity of the village twice daily—about 10 a.m. and 5 p.m.—when the women go out and milk. Sheep and goats are shipped at the end of July. Wheat is sown in January and harvested at the beginning of June. Rapidus are not used. Side by side the men of the village advance through the wheat field and cut the straw with a woodenhandled sickle, ahi, (E. 2343) about 25 cms. in length. The sickle is held in the right hand. With four fingers of the left hand the men carry four harvesting shots, garmik,[a] (E. 2342) fastened together by metal links. The corn is cut by the men alone, whereas the transport of it to the threshing floor is the women's task[b]. This is done either by the help of a long, plaited woollen rope, gurik, (E. 2344) about 6.50 m. long, or a large-meshed net. The rope is made by the women. The material is natural-coloured yellow-brown, black-brown and white goat and sheep's wool spun on a distaff. The rope is slung around a shock of suitable size, the woman lies on her back on top of it, draws the end of the rope over her right shoulder and gets up. The corn is unloaded at one of the village's open, circular, gypsum-plaster threshing floors[c], or in front of one of the houses where the earth is firm, having been rolled with a wooden roller which is also used to press out the

Fig. 3. German implements, sickle (E. 2343), scythe (E. 2345), and handmade rope (E. 2344).

he himself is considered a tenant farmer — the land belonging to 825
an absentee landowner, a tribal chief, or some privileged section of 911
the local community. The typical situation is for the freeholding farmers to have retained what is generally called *tribal* organization (see below), whereas the tenant farmer has no clear political affiliations, but is largely subject to the control of the landowner. This dichotomy between the tribal, freeholding farmer and the tenant, more or less dependent on a capitalist for land and other privileges, is basic to much of the following discussion. The dichotomy is clearly made by Kurds themselves, and is associated with the co-existence of other institutional forms.

The characteristic tendency on the land which does not directly belong to the farmer who is using it, is a progressive delegation of rights. This influences the division of labor and the form of work-groups in the fields, and reinforces class differences.

In the tribal village, each farmer generally works his own fields 86.5
with own equipment, or may hire some outside labor to assist him at certain times of year. Mutual borrowing, or renting, of livestock may be reported to. The grazing area belongs to the village as a whole, and [23 77]
herding the animals is generally delegated to one or more full-time shepherds of low status, who may serve the whole village.

The land of the typical tenant village belongs to an absentee 827
landowner, who collects 1/10—1/5 of the cereal crop by right. The old residents of the village have inherited inheritable rights of use of certain fields. These are not inalienable. Any person needing more land may apply to the landowner, and if he can demonstrate that he is able to use more, he will be shown fallow land that formerly belonged to other households. Where no fallow land is available and the need is great, e. g. due to increase in the size of a given family, any type of land may be considered. Theoretically, the landowner has the right to evict any one for any reason — though this is a power he rarely exercises, since it generally precipitates conflicts and disrupts village unity.

Non-inheritably, the many well-to-do tenant farmer will in fact 96.5
do no farming himself, but will hire labor in his fields for a share 95.3 ●
of the crop, or other payments. Such payments are traditionally

equivalent, e. g. for reaping 1/4 of the wheat crop, 1/7 of barley for plowing, food plus 100 fils/day (= 2 shillings) or 110 fils/day and no food.

The large landowner may rent out the rights to a certain village or area for a limited period of time to some intermediary capitalist for a small fee plus 1/2 of the intermediary capitalist's profits. This intermediary is then free to stipulate the share of the tenants' crop he wishes to collect as rent for the year. The number of non-productive links in the chain from the laborer on the fields to the ultimate landowner may thus become quite considerable, and the

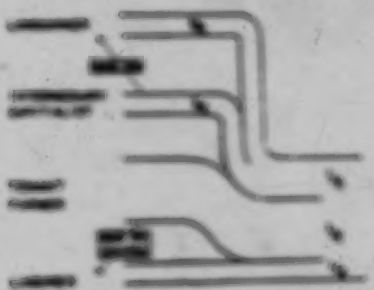

Diagram No. 1. Shares in division of a cereal crop

division of the crop might be as illustrated in Diagram 1. More frequently, however, the intermediary capitalist is missing in the hierarchy, and the landowner, collecting direct from his tenants, is content with the smaller, traditional share of 1/7 of the crop on un-irrigated land.

At harvest time, a characteristic work-gang in the grainfields of a tenant village will consequently consist of 1—10 men, in part made up of migratory labor, cutting the grain, and young women carrying it up the threshing place. Threshing and winnowing, on the other hand, are generally the work of only two men; plowing is usually a solitary occupation.

According to the irrigation of the tobacco-fields usually follows a different pattern. The various farmers who share a certain watering system either need it each in turn, or one man among them may hold an all major importance,